Copyright

by

Suzanne Yaa Boakyewa Nimoh

2020

The Thesis Committee for Suzanne Yaa Boakyewa Nimoh
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following Thesis:

Racial Narratives in Leisure Landscapes: Colonial Tourism in Santo Domingo

APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Caroline Faria, Co-Supervisor
Pavithra Vasudevan, Co-Supervisor

Bjørn Sletto

Racial Narratives in Leisure Landscapes: Colonial Tourism in Santo Domingo

by

Suzanne Yaa Boakyewa Nimoh

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2020

Acknowledgements

This project could not have been completed without the encouragement, guidance, and constant support from my loved ones. First, thank you to my dear family for your endless support. A special thank you goes to my darling mother, Phygenia, and wonderful sister, Ingrid, for always answering all my phone calls, allowing me to make mistakes, and ultimately reminding me that I am loved. I admire you both with all my heart.

I am deeply grateful for my loved ones, Tymon, Alexis, Dominica, and Anne. Thank you for supporting me through all the challenges of the past year, pointing out when I need to take a break, and reminding me to be confident in who I am as a scholar. Thank you for listening to all my excited, and disorganized, brainstorms during the various stages of this project, and celebrating with me as it comes to an end.

I give my heartfelt thanks to my incredible committee, Dr. Caroline Faria, Dr. Pavithra Vasudevan, and Dr. Bjørn Sletto. I cannot express how supported I have felt by you throughout this project. Thank you for believing in me as a scholar and investing in me. I appreciate your close reading of my work, your engagement with my ideas, and all of the suggestions you offered. Thank you for caring about me as a person, and checking in with me regularly. I am inspired by your scholarship, teaching, and character; I am honored to work with you.

I sincerely thank the John L. Warfield Center for African and African American Studies and the Mentoring Fellowship from the University of Texas at Austin for funding this research. I also thank the Feminist Geography Collective at UT, and the archivists at the Archivo General de la Nación in Santo Domingo, for their help and care in the research process.

Abstract

Racial Narratives in Leisure Landscapes: Colonial Tourism in Santo Domingo

Suzanne Nimoh, MA

The University of Texas at Austin, 2020

Supervisors: Caroline Faria, Pavithra Vasudevan

This project analyzes the tourist landscape of Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic. Through focusing on Zona Colonial in the 20th and 21st centuries, I analyze the neighborhood's colonial architecture, and assert the landscape creates a national identity based on whiteness. I conduct a visual analysis of the city, using photographs I took myself and archival photographs from the Archivo General de la Nación in Santo Domingo. I read the built environment as a public archive through studying monuments, street names, and memorials in Zona Colonial, attending to structures created through Spanish colonial and US imperial influence. I examine my personal observations of the tourist neighborhood, interrogating the narratives performed in the landscape. I argue these architectural structures are instrumental in shaping collective memory around whiteness.

Further, I analyze the contributions of US military occupation in Santo Domingo in promoting a Dominican national identity on anti-blackness, through their

dissemination of anti-Haitian ideology. I continue by examining how Dominicans have used Zona Colonial to resist US imperialism. I center two instances of protest, and how critically examine the archives they come from and represent. Ultimately, I argue Zona Colonial creates a vision of heritage that centers Hispanicism and patriarchy, omitting African ancestry from images of Dominican national identity.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction: Racial Narratives in Leisure Landscapes

> "6:00 p.m. El parquecito muestra una imagen apacible de Ciudad. Al centro, la estatua de Duarte, Padre de la Patria. Un provocador olor a carne frita se expande por los aires; llega del chimichurri apostado en la esquina de Hostos y Billini. La tarde, transparente, lucida, tranquila, augura una noche densa, bulliciosa, inquieta."
>
> "6:00 p.m. The parquecito shows a calm picture of the City [of Santo Domingo]. In the center, the statue of Duarte, Founding Father. A provocative smell of fried beef spreads through the air; it comes from the chimichurri stationed on the corner of Hostos and Billini. The afternoon, transparent, clear, quiet, predicts a dense, bustling, and restless night."(Arias 2009, 177).

Aurora Arias' short story, "Parquecito," represents the palimpsestic landscape of Zona Colonial. In her opening timestamp of 6:00 p.m., she refers to the surrounding environment that situates Parque Duarte. Arias references the streets named after Eugenio María de Hostos and former president Francisco Xavier Billini, foreign-born politicians honored for their contributions to Dominican nationhood (De Maeseneer 2011). The Dominican feminist author creates an eleven-hour story of contemporary nightlife at Parque Duarte, a social center of Zona Colonial in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic. Arias details interactions of tourists, ex-radicals, and migrants and their varying relationships to the legacy of Duarte. Arias' characters center those who exist on the margins and in contrast to Zona Colonial, which symbolizes white, heterosexual male tradition (De Maeseneer 2011). Commemorated in 1930 in honor of Dominican independence leader Juan Pablo Duarte, Parque Duarte today remains a prominent gathering place for local residents during all hours. Arias' fictional characters represent different temporal realities of war, migration and empire, and often expressing how these exist in conflict to the colonial backdrop in which they are gathering. Through

centering her story on Duarte's monument, Arias' work emphasizes how memorials invoke specific national histories which people experience differently according to their identities.

How does a landscape transport someone to a different time period? What power dynamics shape how the landscape is then experienced, and remembered? In my project, I explore racial and patriarchal power in Zona Colonial, Santo Domingo. I build on the frameworks of temporal transportation, palimpsest, and national memory to examine how the tourist landscape presents and sustains colonial white supremacist logics. I analyze the memorialized landscape of Zona Colonial as a project of the Ministry of Tourism to understand how the Dominican State represents the nation's heritage as Hispanic, masculine, and white. I examine United States' imperialism in Hispaniola in the 20th century, and how it supports this vision of Dominican national identity. Furthermore, I study how Dominicans have historically appropriated the landscape of Zona Colonial to resist US military occupation, and how the memories of these instances of resistance are racialized and gendered.

The first chapter of my thesis, "Historiography of Santo Domingo" provides a historical and theoretical contextualization of my field site, Zona Colonial. I describe the colonial and contemporary history of Hispaniola, focusing on racial formation and the development of Santo Domingo.

Chapter Two, "Representations of Heritage in Santo Domingo: Zona Colonial, Anti-Haitianism, and Dominicanidad" is an analysis of representations of Dominican heritage and national identity in Zona Colonial. Complementing observations of the city

from my fieldwork with archival research, this empirical chapter examines the material culture of colonial architecture, and contrasts it with my observations of the informal economy. Through an analysis of specific memorialized sites, I argue that the State presents Dominican heritage from the lens of Hispanicism. Furthermore, I contend these projections of national identity contribute to Anti-Black visions of Dominican national identity. In the second half of the chapter, I examine representations of heritage present in Zona Colonial through the informal economy of souvenir vendors, whose imaginary of African ancestry conflicts with the dominant images of Dominicanidad. I frame my analysis through Milagros Ricourt's theorization of colonial national imaginaries and subversive national imaginaries (2016). My representational analysis incorporates photos I took during my fieldwork and my field note observations. I reflect on my experience as a Black female tourist in Zona Colonial, and how I interacted with the colonial, tourist landscape.

Chapter Three, "Imperial Entanglements and Dominican Defiance: Zona Colonial as a Site of Contestation" analyzes Zona Colonial as a site of resistance to 20th century US imperialism. I examine how United States' military occupation of the Dominican Republic created a militarized landscape of Santo Domingo, and the role of the United States in cementing Anti-Haitianism. Next, I look at two different moments of Dominican resistance to US invasions 1916 and 1965, with protests taking place in Zona Colonial. Using photographs and books from the Archivo General de la Nación in Santo Domingo, I compare and contrast how the two protests are archived. I finish with a conversation on methodology and personal reflection in my engagement with the archive.

I conclude this thesis with chapter four, "Revisiting the Colonial Caribbean and Redressing Narratives of Heritage." I emphasize the power of colonial memory in shaping the colonial landscape and revisiting literature on Dominicanidad and tourism. I highlight how my research builds on these aforementioned conversations, and how it pushes Geography to continue analyzing race in relation to memory. I also return to my methodology, and once again reflect on my positionality in relation to race in Zona Colonial and my engagement with the archive. Finally, I address limitations of my study, and identify them as opportunities for new directions.

Background on Santo Domingo

Officially called Santo Domingo de Gúzman, the Dominican capital is located at the Southern coast of the Dominican Republic. The nation shares the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean with Haiti, which borders the Dominican Republic on its western side. Santo Domingo is the largest metropolitan area by population in the Dominican Republic (Núñez Collado 2019). The city is located in the province of Santo Domingo, in its own locality called the National District.

The Colonial City of Santo Domingo, known as Zona Colonial, is the oldest colonial city in the Western Hemisphere. According to UNESCO, Zona Colonial is a neighborhood dedicated to maintaining the material ruins of Spanish colonial history (UNESCO n.d.). It is an approximately one square kilometer neighborhood bordered by the Ozama River on its eastern side. Zona Colonial is a commercial urban center as well as a residential area; homes of longtime residents are seamlessly embedded within Spanish gothic architecture. The colonial landscape is visually juxtaposed with

contemporary multinational restaurant chains and clothing stores among historic ruins. Zona Colonial is a heavily memorialized section of Santo Domingo, with several monuments and museums representing Dominican history. While much of the landscape caters to international visitors, longtime residents of Zona Colonial share the same leisure places with transient tourists. Places like Parque Duarte, like Arias describes, and Parque Independencia are sites where tourist and residential living overlap.

Methodology

The majority of my research is based on one month of fieldwork and archival research in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. I began preliminary data analysis during my stay in Santo Domingo, and continued after I returned to the United States. While in Santo Domingo, I began my work days in el Archivo General de la Nación, as it closed at 2:30 pm for research. Later in the day I would travel to Zona Colonial as it cooled down to conduct my observations of the memorialized landscape. I traveled around Santo Domingo by walking. I lived between el Archivo and Zona Colonial, my two research sites, and they were about a 35 minute walk away each in opposing directions from my home. In the last week of my trip, I obtained a data plan for my cell phone, and was able to use ride sharing apps for transportation.

For the first week of my stay in Santo Domingo, three of my colleagues were also in the city; they showed me around as our stays overlapped. The initial introduction my colleagues provided me allowed me to confidently navigate the city. While I was in Santo Domingo alone, relationships with colleagues, archivists, and friends enabled me to collect and analyze data through the sharing of support and guidance.

I chose to combine participant observations and archival research to conduct my study. Combining these two methods allowed me to participate in the practice of tourism, and engage more deeply with the narratives of national identity presented to me through the landscape. Additionally, utilizing archival research allowed me to critically analyze sites in Zona Colonial, and gather more information on leaders who are memorialized and how spaces within the neighborhood have been used. My research understands Zona Colonial as instrumental in the retelling of history through the performance of memory, which is a constructed process and activity (Kuhn 2010). I chose to study tourism as a performance, which constructs a collective memory of a white cultural heritage.

The discipline of geography has made significant contributions to the study of memory, specifically through the relationship between memory and the built environment. Geographers specifically have analyzed monuments, museums and memorials (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). These material structures are crucial in understanding memory in landscapes; however intangible structures are also influential in shaping memory (Anderson 1991). Performance and narrative are prominent in the construction of collective memory, whether staged performances or informal narratives that have persisted over time (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). In my research, I understand tourism as a performance in Zona Colonial; the landscape serves as a backdrop to sustain the daily performances.

I conducted dozens of observations in Zona Colonial, with sessions ranging from one to three hours in duration. I looked for discourses of colonialism, heritage, and blackness in the landscape, paying attention to streets, monuments and museums. I chose

to engage with the landscape of Zona Colonial as a public archive that shapes collective memory (Vasudevan and Kearney 2016). I took notes by hand during my observations, and recorded them in a notebook I carried with me. Additionally, I took photos on my cell phone and disposable cameras I examined formal tourist material from the Dominican Ministry of Tourism and collected print documents, leaflets and flyers, available for free from kiosks stationed around the neighborhood. I followed the print and online guides from the Ministry of Tourism that recommended specific routes of travel around Zona Colonial, highlighting what they determined to be the most important locations to visit. I initially planned to participate in professionally guided tours, but my budget did not allow for it. The popular monuments in Zona Colonial had professional tour guides employed by the Ministry of Tourism stationed at them. The tour guides wore badges and occasionally a uniform embroidered with the logo of the Ministry of Tourism. They stood at the entrance to certain sites waiting for tourists, often initiating conversations themselves.

Through my work in Santo Domingo, I am engaging with Zona Colonial as a public archive, sustaining national imaginaries of eurocentricity and colonialism. The archive has a powerful role in shaping memory (Thomas 2013). The term "archive" generally has two usages: one referring to specific sets of information, such as collection of historical documents from a specific event, and a broader meaning referring to a reservoirs of knowledge production (Saunders 2008). I am employing the second usage of archive, "the" archive, referring to memory banks of information that become canonical knowledge, and eventually history. Historical production is made through the

creation of sources as facts, the assembling of facts as archives, the retrieval of facts as narratives, and applying significance to these narratives as history (Trouillot 1995, 27). Because the archive is carefully assembled and produced by power, it as a form of violence which removes black humanity (Hartman 2008, Trouillot 1995). Colonial landscapes are a racialized form of heritage which remove blackness from the public archive, and ultimately national memory.

In addition to seeing landscape as archive, I conducted archival research in a Dominican institution. Archival research became the bulk of my research and my fieldwork complemented it. I began my archival research by researching the histories of sites in Zona Colonial which allowed me to select certain monuments and plazas to further study. I conducted all my archival research at the Archivo General de la Nación and my data sources were the print and digital archives. I came in with a list of topics I wanted to explore and an archivist pulled relevant documents for me and directed me to digital sources. I read city plan documents, newspaper articles, books, and spent most of my time examining digitized photographs. Most of the content, with the exception of newspapers and some photographs, are available on the Archivo website to the general public and can be accessed from outside of the building computers. The other sources were stored on the Archivo computers' hard drives, and I accessed them by emailing the photos to myself, under the archivist instruction.

While in the archive, researchers were permitted to take notes with paper and pencil, as well to take non-flash photographs with cell phones, which is how I recorded notes and citations to reference later. In the research room of the archive, I photographed

print sources and digital sources. The Archive is available to the public, and visitors are required to give a form of ID as collateral. The receptionist asked for my cédula, a Dominican national identification card which I do not possess, so I used my New Jersey driver's license. I then put all my belongings in the locker and began my research.

Conducting archival research provided me with a strong foundational understanding of the histories of Santo Domingo. Archives tell a story through what is represented and documented, and what is omitted (Hartman 2008). While I studied and experienced national narratives, my methodology allows me to critically engage with what stories are being told. Photographs became my primary data source for analysis. The photographs I analyzed documented ephemera, a moment of protest, children playing on military forts, and gave it permanence. Still, photographs are not exempt from needing critical analysis.

I am inspired by Dominican scholars and other Caribbeanists who critically engage with the visual archive. In "Against Type: Reading Desire in the Visual Archives of Dominican Subjects" Dominican-American feminist scholar, Dixa Ramírez, uses photographs to examine US Imperialism and modernity. She studies the imperial gaze in the process of photographing and analyzing photos, which stuck with me as I conducted my research. She writes, "focusing primarily on images created in the early twentieth century during and through the consolidation of US world power, I seek to construct a method for discerning how ordinary, often anonymous, Dominicans fulfill, refuse, or frustrate the myriad desires contained in the imperial gaze as recorded in photography." (Ramírez 2018, 146). Writing in line with scholars like Simone Browne (2015) and Mimi

Sheller (2012), Ramirez examines how photographs gender and racialize subjects. She interrogates the gaze of foreigners on Dominicans, which inspires my reflexivity as I, a foreigner in the DR, capture photographs and represent images, careful to not reproduce images of otherness (147). Ramírez explores the question of agency in photographing human subjects, and inspires me to reflect on the photographs I analyze from the archive. During my data analysis I searched for the photographers of the work I analyzed, and was critical of narratives of empire masculinity and whiteness.

Autoethnography was central to my fieldwork, data analysis, and personal reflections during and after my time in the Dominican Republic. Borrowing Kohl and McCutcheon's definition, I use autoethnography " by incorporating the living and telling of personal experiences, [and] connecting these experiences to broader social and political processes in academic research" (Kohl and McCutcheon 2015, 748). Academics often see the boundary between researcher and participant as strict, especially when researchers study a community they do not identify with, a separation built from the exocitization of research subjects in ethnography (Katz 1994). These lines between researcher and participant are blurred when the researcher inhabits different positions in relation to their researcher, such as activist, interlocutor, and educator (Sletto and Nygren 2015). The complexity of an academic's relationship to their research increases when they can partially identify with the community they are studying, but not completely. Autoethnography contests the academic divisions of researcher and participant (Ali 2015).

Examining one's positionality must go beyond simply listing the researcher's

identities and privileges, and "everyday talk" is crucial to deeply engaging with self reflexivity (Kohl and McCuctheon 2015). Vital to my data analysis was discussing my experience as a Black woman researcher in the Dominican Republic with colleagues and friends. Conversations with other Black scholars of Latin America from the United States helped me understand the complexities of experiencing racism internationally, but also carrying privileges of being from the US Empire. I also discussed my positionality and racial identity with my extended family from the Dominican Republic and other nations in the Caribbean. Like Kohl and McCutcheon argue, these conversations are invaluable and methodological, and often go overlooked (Kohl and McCutcheon 2015). These informal conversations allowed me to process my personal experiences and relationship to my field site.

Being a black woman in the Dominican Republic gave me a unique relationship to my field site; I could "pass" as Dominican because of my race, but still carried the privileges of an American passport. While my nationality allotted me the privilege of state protection as a tourist, I still felt the impact of racial violence as I traversed landscapes dedicated to colonial power. Because of my race and nationality, I experienced the debris of colonial pasts in the present, feeling a contradiction in my body of privileges and oppressions (Faria 2017). My use of autoethnography is critical to the discipline of geography, which has long ignored racial difference and power, and has used race to legitimate eugenics and environmental determinism (Kobayashi 2014, Gilmore 2002). The self reflexivity and intimacy I practice in my research engages with the complex realities of race and gender.

Chapter One: Historiography of Santo Domingo

This chapter is a critical historiography of my field site of Santo Domingo. The question of racial identity on Hispaniola is complicated due to the different ways the eastern and western sides experienced colonization. I organize this chapter chronologically, discussing the precolonial island, colonization, and contemporary Santo Domingo. I discuss Santo Domingo as a racialized colonial heritage space, and analyze my work in relation to them. I examine scholarly conversations on Caribbean National Imaginaries and the Archive, Dominicanidad and Anti-Haitianism, and Critical Heritage Studies and Geographies of Memory. I extend these theoretical conversations through my work on blackness, colonial memory and national identity.

Colonial Hispaniola

Hispaniola was originally inhabited by indigenous Taíno peoples, a nomadic Arawak tribe of different ethnicities who lived on the Caribbean Islands. In 1492 Christopher Columbus and his team landed on the Southern shores of the island, colonizing it in search of gold and other fine minerals (Sued-Badillo 2011). The Spanish colonizers came to the Caribbean archipelago and committed genocide: killing a majority of the original people (de las Casas 1971 [1522], Lovell 1992).

European colonizers inhabiting the island brutally advanced the transatlantic slave trade, enslaving Africans to work on sugar plantations. The Dominican Republic was originally colonized by Spain, while France colonized Haiti on the other side of the island. American sugar plantations began in Hispaniola, which became the concentration of forced black labor, surpassing the mines. The sugar economy thrived more on the

French controlled western side of island, leading to increased importations of enslaved Africans and a darker skinned population in what is now Haiti (Torres-Saillant 2010). On the eastern side of the island, the mixing of white Spaniards, the not extinct indigenous Taínos, and enslaved Africans created a mixed hue of races in the Dominican Republic (Candelario 2016).

The French controlled western portion of Hispaniola, Saint-Domingue, was the most profitable colony in the world (DuBois 2011). Enslaved Africans famously organized and carried out the first successful anticolonial revolution worldwide, forging a path for anticolonial struggle (DuBois 2011). From 1791 and ending in 1804, enslaved Africans in Saint-Domingue liberated themselves and founded the new nation of Haiti. In 1822, decades following Haitian liberation, the newly established Haitian government took over the Dominican Republic in efforts to reunify the island and strengthen it against potential imperial attacks (Paulino 2006). White criollo elites viewed Haiti's control over the island as an invasion threatening their sovereignty, experiencing this reunification as occupation (Eller 2014). They reacted through the dissemination of nationalist knowledge production, creating an archive where blackness was the enemy to the Dominican nation (García-Peña 2016; Usanna 2010). Although Haiti and the Dominican Republic share much of the same history and cultural practices, since their respective independences DR has continually increased the political divide between the two countries (Abréu 2014).

Shortly after the Dominican War of Independence, Spain colonized the Dominican Republic again and once again, Dominicans fought for their freedom. The War of Restoration ended with Dominicans re-achieving their independence in 1865.

Despite being colonized by Spain twice and for longer periods of time, Dominicans use their independence from Haiti to date their independence day celebrations. Haitian occupation over the island is a sore spot in Dominican history; Haitian unification still represents an angry memory for white Dominicans from wealthy plantation owning families, many of whom work in the Dominican government (Lister 2014; Torres-Saillant, 2010).

The overlapping of Spanish, Indigenous, and African ancestry on the western side of Hispaniola, leads to a complicated racial identity for Dominicans. Anti-Haitian resentment has brewed a disidentification with blackness at the government level (Torres-Saillant 1998). Ramírez describes "a unique ontology of blackness emerged in the Dominican Republic because this place was home to a majority free mixed-race and black population starting in the sixteenth century" (Ramírez 2018, 148). In my research, I explore the complexities of Dominican national identity and its relationship to anti-blackness.

Santo Domingo in the Twentieth Century

Santo Domingo was established centuries ago with the arrival of Christopher Columbus, but in the 20th century it became a prominent site in constructing Dominican identity and memory (Taylor 2009). In the early half of the twentieth century, Dominican Dictator Rafael Trujillo lead campaigns to concretize dominicanidad, or Dominican identity and essence. This included violent, exclusionary discourses of Anti-Haitianism in efforts to mimic a European standard of modernity. As a manifestation of his racist ideology, Trujillo led campaigns of physical violence against people perceived as Haitian

which are well documented. The most catastrophic incident of his violence was the 1937 massacre of over 15,000 Haitians and Dominicans read as Haitian in the borderland (Paulino and García 2013).

In conjunction with catastrophic acts of violence, Trujillo institutionalized racist ideologies. To racially and economically advance the nation, Trujillo practiced distancing the Dominican Republic from Africa and orienting it towards Europe (Rubio-Zepeda 2015). Promoting differences between Europeanness and blackness, usually conflated with Haitian nationality, was instrumental in shaping Dominican national identity and subsequent memory. The Colonial City was strategic in creating a racialized modernity (Taylor 2009). It was reserved for powerful people in early twentieth century and was formed to create an exclusive, elite, and white part of the city. The revival of Santo Domingo in the early twentieth century mirrors its contemporary renovation.

In 1990, The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) named The Colonial City a World Heritage Site because of its significance to multicultural interaction and urban development (UNESCO). While coastal tourism and ecotourism provide the basis of the Dominican tourist industry, in recent years the Dominican government has invested in increasing heritage tourism in Santo Domingo's Zona Colonial. In 2011, the Dominican Republic financed a loan for $30 million dollars from the Inter-American Development Bank to promote tourism in Zona Colonial (IDB 2011). Furthermore, the importance of Zona Colonial in concretizing the Dominican Republic's significance to Western modernity makes it a critical location of analysis for understanding colonial and imperial power. In my research, I examine Zona Colonial as a

tourist site which powerfully represents Dominican expressions of national identity.

Racialization, Anti-Haitianism, and Dominicanidad

Understandings of dominicanidad, or Dominican national identity, are rooted in state violence, specifically anti-Haitian violence (Delugan, 2017). Anti-Haitianism has entered popular discourse since La Sentencia TC-168 in 2013, but the ideology has been present for centuries in the Dominican Republic. In September 2013, the Dominican Republic made a landmark ruling to revoke citizenship from Dominicans born in the DR to undocumented parents. The ruling of La Sentencia TC 168-13 targeted over 200,000 Dominicans of Haitian descent, denationalizing them and subjecting them to statelessness. The denationalization brought forth by La Sentencia criminalized Dominicans of Haitian descent and Haitians living in the Dominican Republic, leading to mass deportations in the years following the legislation. This continues a long complicated history of anti-black ideologies in the Dominican Republic which have existed since the colonial era. Many scholars trace anti-Haitianism in the Dominican Republic to the period of Haitian Reunification between 1822-1844, and cite it as the source of Dominican nationhood and nationalism (Abréu 2014; Paulino 2006; Santos-Ramírez 2014; Torres-Saillant 2010)

The reactionary survival of hispanic influence in Dominican identity and landscape is a practice of anti-Haitianism, and is foundational to the creation of Dominican identity (Santos Ramírez 2014). In the twenty-first century, La Sentencia, an act of structural violence systematizing and legislating black precarity, continues the historic self-distancing of the Dominican Republic from Haiti. These actions continually

position black Dominicans and Haitians non citizens, and rejected from the nation.

Racism and sexism is foundational to contemporary and historic anti-Haitianism. In addition to being racially motivated, Anti-Haitianism specifically targets black women and is sustained through excluding them from citizenship. As Spillers theorized, black children inherit the status of the mother, whether in citizenship or slavery (Spillers 1987). Thus, the lives of black women threaten the racial purity of a nation desiring to distance itself from Africanness, through the birth of black children (Taylor 2009). Edward Paulino discusses the dehumanization of Haitians in the Dominican Republic, pinning its modern expression in the 1937 massacre ordered by Trujillo (Paulino 2006). He uses a study completed by researchers in Santiago to locate three bases of anti-Haitian prejudice: ethnic, class, and racial. Paulino roots anti-Haitian prejudice in the Dominican Republic in anti-Black racism (Paulino 2006). While later in his work he discusses the racial aspect of birthright citizenship, he misses the opportunity to draw attention to dark sinned women's bodies as the site for this legislation. The exclusionary citizenship laws are enacted on black mothers to reproduce a white, Dominican nation.

Many scholars see anti-Haitianism as an issue internal to Hispaniola, however, its roots extend beyond the island's borders. Historic anti-Haitian violence is part of global anti-blackness and influenced by foreign powers, with roots in US imperialism (Ricourt 2016; Torres-Saillaint 1998). My work seeks to further conversations on Dominican national identity, gender, and anti-blackness, by highlighting the nuanced ways it is sustained by US empire through the influence of international organizations in tourism.

Chapter 2: Representations of Heritage in Santo Domingo: Zona Colonial, Anti-Haitianism, and Dominicanidad

In the multiracial nation, most residents have a blend of Indigenous, Spanish, and African ancestry, leading to a range of dark hues characterizing Dominican skin. This diverse racial history, however, is flattened in Zona Colonial. Through its landscape honoring colonial leaders with monuments and memorials, Zona Colonial presents a Dominican historic identity that is exclusive to a Spanish heritage. My work interrogates the postcolonial landscape of Zona Colonial, and its memorialization of colonialism. I argue Zona Colonial heralds the colonial past and perpetuates colonial power structures through symbolizing Dominican heritage. This representation of heritage centers Dominican national identity on Europeanness and masculinity. I use the practice of tourism to examine how this narrative of heritage perpetuates anti-black racism in the postcolonial nation.

The Dominican Republic is a Caribbean nation that shares an island with Haiti on its Eastern Border. Tourism accounts for 16% of the nation's GDP annually and contributes indirectly to 16% of national employment as of 2017, which was projected compared to rise to nearly 20% in 2018 (WTTC 2018). For comparison, tourism in the United States, ranked as the number one tourist destination in the world, represents 10% of the nation's GDP (WTTC 2018). As another point of comparison, 92.2% of travel to the Dominican Republic is for leisure and 7.8% is for business travel (WTTC 2018). For

the United States leisure travel represents 70% and business travel is 30% of travel spending in the nation (WTTC 2018). As of 2017, the Dominican Republic leads the Caribbean in travel and tourism's contribution to GDP, employment and visitor exports, measured in billions of USD, and is well above the Caribbean average for these areas. It only trails Cuba in the amount of money invested in tourism and travel, but is still above the Caribbean average with the Dominican Republic spending $600 million USD and the Caribbean average being half that at $300 million. The nation is popular for ecotourism, beach resorts, and heritage tourism specifically in the nation's capital of Santo Domingo.

Like many Latin American and Caribbean nations, the Dominican Republic has been the site of Western colonial and imperial projects, which have continued to shape its landscape for centuries. Postcolonial landscapes are material manifestations of entanglement; a palimpsest of colonial ruins, Indigenous land and African subjugation (Mbembe 2001; Smith 2016). My work interrogates the postcolonial landscape of Zona Colonial, and its memorialization of colonialism. Using data I collected from my fieldwork in the summer of 2019, I analyze popular tourist sites in Zona Colonial to understand how colonial logics have guided the postcolonial creation of Dominican national identity. In addition to examining the ideologies of the Dominican Independence leaders memorialized in Zona Colonial, I examine how memorials present an image of Dominican heritage that is based on whiteness and masculinity. Further, I connect the presentation of Dominican national identity in Zona Colonial to contemporary anti-blackness and specifically, anti-Haitianism on the island. Understanding the colonial foundations to Dominican conceptualizations of heritage is significant to understanding

the pervasiveness of colonial logics long after colonization.

In the rest of this chapter, I walk through key sites in Zona Colonial, discussing my experiences as a visitor. The "tour" of the neighborhood will stop at Parque Independencia and Plaza España, where I will critically engage with their histories and representations of heritage and power. I then introduce a contradiction I experienced in the landscape where blackness was hidden or criminalized in the state representations of heritage, but saturated in informal settings in the city. I use Milagros Ricourt's (2016) theorization of colonial national identity versus subversive national identity as I think through different representations of heritage in Zona Colonial. I examine photographs from my fieldwork of Zona Colonial as my data sources for this chapter. All the photographs used in this chapter have been taken by the author.

My Personal Experience in Zona Colonial

I conducted daily observations in Zona Colonial to varying levels of comfort due to the ways I was racialized and gendered. I traveled throughout Santo Domingo alone, frequenting the same places and traveling the same route on foot. Eventually, I did not need directions navigating the city and was able to travel confidently; because of this, I was less easily recognizable as a tourist. Furthermore, my race contributed to my confidence to a certain extent, as my dark skin matched the skin tones of other black Dominicans. After a few weeks of regular local travel throughout Santo Domingo, it was not uncommon for Dominicans to approach me speaking Spanish, asking for the time of day or other simple questions. Depending on the length of the appropriate response, people were able to hear my American accent and would occasionally comment on it.

Although my race allowed me to blend in, my gender reminded me I was an outsider in masculine public space; I received regular catcalls from men calling me "morena," "negra," or "africana." While many Dominican-Americans assure me these are terms of endearment, it still made me feel unwelcome as I traveled throughout the city. I would see and hear other black Dominican women receive these catcalls, racialized terms referencing the darkness of a woman's skin. The catcalls from men in various capacities, from vendors to police officers, reasserted the dominance of patriarchal power in public space. By all means, catcalling is not exclusive to the Dominican Republic and because of my race and gender, I receive unwanted comments from men regularly in the United States. This experience with being differentiated, however, was unique because of the landscape it occurred in. Having this experience with power in Zona Colonial intensified my feelings of otherness because of the colonial setting.

In my time conducting research in Zona Colonial, I experienced a strange body memory for colonial violences I had not experienced personally. As I walked among colonial ruins, I felt the reinscription of colonial racialized and gendered power on my body, which I did not feel in the less historically preserved parts of Santo Domingo. This experience also pointed to a peculiar paradox of passing; I was read as Dominican because of my blackness, but felt I was an outsider because of my gender in patriarchal public space. After speaking with me, however, Dominicans would recognize that I was American by my accent. After my nationality was revealed, I began to be treated differently. I was seen as someone to protect because I was a tourist. I was visiting at a time where American media outlets were widely sharing the stories of American tourist

deaths in the Dominican Republic. The weight of being part of the US Empire was particularly heavy, as the Dominican Ministry of Tourism had a popular media campaign in response, tagged with the hashtag #DRisSafe. Further, being American, I carried a certain weight of distinction and privilege. When people I spoke with learned I was American, they began to offer recommendations and asked how I was experiencing the island. It felt playful; my racialized and sexualized body went from being exoticized and objectified, to being a representation of power. Moreover, being in a city that has experienced multiple invasions from the United States' military, the weight of my nationality was intensified.

Colonial Landscapes as Racialized Heritage

In postcolonial Latin America and the Caribbean, colonial cities are memorialized relics of settler colonial projects that often sanitize their violences. While many of these cities become tourist destinations, colonialism becomes a commodity on sale for tourist consumers. Governments, often with imperial pressures, market their colonial cities as representations of the nation's rich cultural heritage (Collins 2013). While seemingly apolitical, the commodification of colonial cities centers a racialized heritage that rejects blackness and favors whiteness.

The formation of nation-states relies on the consolidation of a shared national identity based on common roots: a common heritage. Creating this sense of a shared ancestral identity and destiny is vital to promoting nationalism (Arendt 1958). The construction of a national heritage is the shaping of a social imaginary that defines identity for citizens and residents within nations (Ashley and Frank 2016). Heritage is a

performative act of social reproduction that relies on memory making. It often invokes racialized and gendered images of national identity, which is particularly present in multiracial, postcolonial societies (Hoelscher 2003). In colonial and post colonial states, colonial power is reproduced through the archiving of colonial artifacts and images of conquest (Anderson 1991). In colonial cities, memorialization through museums and the built environment reproduce colonial power. In Latin America, political authorities control understandings of heritage, colonial heritage has the opportunity to supplant a more complex, multiracial one (Anderson 1991, Novoa 2015).

Tourism within colonial cities is a performative practice which sustains memories of heritage and represents contemporary national identity. Tourism gives the nation the opportunity to reimagine itself and present a certain narrative of who it chooses to be (Clancy 2011). Zona Colonial is the most frequented tourist site in Santo Domingo, and entertains visitors with colonial ruins, museums, and monuments. Monuments are symbolic edifices latent with ideological significance, charging seemingly neutral public spaces with political importance (Whelan 2002). The memorializing of heritage is the production of a narrow national history which relies on power (Trouillot 1995). Racial power is influential in producing history, and landscapes that represent that history. Hispano-centric national identities are built on anti-blackness, as nations often hide diverse racial heritages in favor of whiteness (Al Natour 2016; Perry 2016).

Zona Colonial, located in the city of Santo Domingo, has had increasing international importance due to its World Heritage Site status and its prominence as tourist center. Santo Domingo is recognized as the site where Christopher Columbus first

arrived in 1492, beginning a period of settler colonization in the Caribbean and the Americas, and inaugurating what many scholars see as the onset of modernity. Even as academic and popular critiques of colonialism are more common, colonial history is commemorated by prestigious international organizations, such as the United Nations, which is a strategic development practice of increasing tourism. In 2011, the Dominican Republic financed a loan for $30 million dollars from the Inter-American Development Bank to promote heritage tourism in the Zona Colonial. When I was in Santo Domingo in the summer of 2019, many museums and buildings were closed for construction, likely related to the plans to renovate Zona Colonial for expanded tourism.

Through analyzing Bahia's Pelourinho historical center in Brazil, another UNESCO World Heritage Site, John Collins indicates how USAID, the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB 2011), and UNESCO are interconnected and create an entangled colonial and imperial web. He argues the commemoration of the site, along with IDB financing was intended to be a highway to tourism based development through memorializing the colonial. Marketing these colonial cities, like in Bahia and Santo Domingo as sacred, cultural heritages rooted in colonialism creates a romantic collective memory for their visitors. This memory perpetuates violent logics that hold colonialism as redeemable and celebratory.

Figure 1: Colonial Dress from the Ministry of Tourism

Colonialism is explicitly celebrated and marketed in Zona Colonial, and felt like a source of pride in Dominican history. Because Santo Domingo is the oldest site of the colonial project in the Western Hemisphere, the international recognition of Santo Domingo is inseparable from it. Figure 1 is an image from a kiosk from the Ministry of Tourism displaying colonial styles of dress. The tone of the clipart style images are playful and romantically represent European colonial culture. Figure 2 is a map entitled "The Essential Guide" which is repeated in several locations in the Zona Colonial. This map from the Ministry of Tourism outlines the most important sites, including historic churches, military forts, and parks.

In the following section I examine how heritage is presented in Zona Colonial using photos I took from my fieldwork. I begin at opposing ends of Zona Colonial:

Parque Independencia and Parque Colón. Next, I walk through Calle del Conde, the street that runs through Zona Colonial and connects these two sites. I close with an analysis of colonial national identity and subversive national identity, and how it relates to representations of heritage.

Figure 2: The Essential Guide of Zona Colonial

Parque Independencia: Dominican Independence and Anti-Haitianism

Every day of my participant observations began in Parque Independencia, before I entered Zona Colonial through Calle del Conde. I immediately experienced it as hyper masculine space. Nearly all the busts memorialized were men, guarded by members of the national guard dressed in military uniforms, upholding patriarchal power in the space. I also noticed mainly men occupied the public space. There were no other women sitting by themselves.

While Zona Colonial centers the past in its representation of Spanish colonial heritage, it also presents images of postcolonial national identity. Located in Zona Colonial among the preserved Spanish colonial ruins, this Parque Independencia commemorates Dominican independence. This park uniquely demonstrates the integration of Dominican nationalism into Spanish colonial history. Examining Parque Independencia provides insight into the representation of postcolonial Dominican national identity, and how it is shaped by colonial ideals of racism and masculinity.

The material site of Parque Independencia performs postcolonial heritage. The large park is situated to greet guests as they enter Zona Colonial. When I visited Parque Independencia, I walked through a cobblestone path lined with busts honoring Dominican political leaders, who were primarily men with European features (Figure 3). During my visits, I spoke with one of the several Black tour guides employed by the Ministry of Tourism stationed throughout Zona Colonial. He told me the park was made to honor the Padres de la Patria, the founding fathers, of the Dominican Republic and to celebrate not only the nation's independence, but their contributions to it. The tour guide told me the

Dominican Republic has two independence days: one commemorating independence from Spain in 1821 and the other commemorating 1844 independence from Haiti. I was puzzled to learn that the Dominican Republic celebrates their 1844 independence from Haiti as their primary independence day, despite having to fight against Spain again in 1863 after they reoccupied the island. This conversation, among the padres de la patria highlighted the longstanding animosity between the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

Figure 3: Busts Lining Parque Independencia

Between 1822 and 1844, Haiti unified Hispaniola after achieving their own independence through revolution in efforts to reunify the island and strengthen it against potential imperial attacks (Paulino 2006). The Dominican white elite, however, viewed

the Haitian reunification of the island as a threat to Dominican sovereignty and the ideology of Haitian threat persists today (Paulino 2005; Torres-Saillant 2010). While some see these two decades as a period of unification, in the Dominican Republic it is largely categorized as a period of Haitian occupation and imperialism. (Eller 2016). When discussing decolonization, Fanon warns of the colonized elite reinstating colonial power logics in newly independent nations (Fanon [1963] 2004). The Dominican founding fathers honored in Parque Independencia were part of this colonized elite, the most famous being Juan Pablo Duarte, who is honored with a park dedicated to him in Zona Colonial. Duarte's ideologies are foundational to the establishment of the new nation, and he built his platform on racist, anti-Haitian propaganda (García-Peña 2016).

Figure 4: Inside the Mausoleum in Parque Independencia

Figure 5: Outside the Mausoleum at Parque Independencia

In addition to honoring racist idealists, the landscape of Parque Independencia favors whiteness and masculinity. Juan Pablo Duarte, Francisco del Rosario Sánchez, and Matías Ramón Mella are the three founding fathers of the Dominican Republic memorialized in the park at the Altar de la Patria, the Altar to the Homeland. The inside of the mausoleum is depicted in Figure 4. The Altar is an elevated mausoleum in the park (Figure 5), and the statues of the leaders are pristinely immortalized in white marble constantly adorned with fresh flowers at their feet. In the artistic depiction of the leaders, their features are Anglicized and Mella is dressed in a military uniform. The military presence in Parque Independencia is not limited to the stone depictions of it's leaders.

When I entered through the main entrance to the park, I walked by inactive military cannons and members of the national guard dressed in uniform. As a dedication to honor the park and its leaders, military personnel guard the entrance to the park. Public space seen as produced to be masculine, as women have traditionally been made to stay in the private sphere (McDowell 1998). The military presence in Parque Independencia added another dimension of masculinity in the park and the colonial experience.

Parque Independencia is representative of colonial influence on national identity for formerly colonized people. While most of Zona Colonial centers on relics from the 15th century, Parque Independencia is an explicitly Dominican contribution to the presentation of heritage in Santo Domingo. Nonetheless, it is integrated seamlessly into Zona Colonial in its design and message. Through the celebration of European identity and military prowess, Parque Independencia contributes to creating a Hispanic heritage rooted in colonial power for Dominicans. Furthermore, it represents a rejection of Haitianness and blackness, through the memorialization of anti-Haitian leaders and the celebration of breaking from Haitian unification.

Parque Colón

On the other end of Zona Colonial is Parque Colón, another public park more inhabited by tourists than residents. This plaza style park, depicted in Figure 6, has dozens of benches facing inward along the perimeter of the park and receives a lot of foot traffic. Restaurants, gift shops, and a small mall surround the park on two sides. The focal point of the park is a statue of Christopher Columbus in the center of the plaza. The description placard (Figure 7) at the foot of the statue reads “Sculpture Monument in

honor of the Great Admiral Christopher Columbus, discoverer of the New World. First Viceroy and Governor of America. Completed by the artist Ernesto Gilbert. Inaugurated February 27, 1887" (Translation Author's own).

Figure 6: Parque Colón

On the statue of Columbus, which is shown in Figure 8, he is depicted admirably and described as such in the corresponding written text. Columbus stands tall with his head up and arm extended, hand pointing to the sky. His leadership is represented in his posture and military dress. Underneath Christopher Columbus on the statue is a sculpture of a Taína woman, wearing nothing but a small cloth over her naked body, in contrast to Columbus' full dress. While she looks up at him, his demeanor exists independent of her. Columbus is not looking at her, however, her existence is necessary for him to be

valorized. The woman underneath Columbus maintains the narrative of the colonial conquest. Indigenous people were either seen as barbaric savages by the Europeans who needed to be exterminated, or where they infantilized and seen as needing protection. The statue of Columbus and the Taína woman underneath him can represent Columbus as the conquerer of indigenous people on the island, or as the protector of indigenous people on the island. In both representations of Columbus, his role in the nation is depicted favorably, giving him a positive association in Dominican national memory.

Figure 7: Description Placard Outside of Columbus' Statue

Figure 8: Statue of Christopher Columbus

Experiencing Calle del Conde

The street that connects Parque Independencia to Parque Colón is Calle del Conde. After beginning my days of research in Parque Independencia, I walked through Calle del Conde to access other research sites. While passing through, I noticed the landscape begin to change; old buildings had contemporary façades, juice bars, pizzerias and tattoo shops (Figure 9). It was apparent I was entering a commercial zone as the landscape seemed to less catered to the preservation of history, and more on capital. Employees standing outside their businesses approached me and other passerby's, offering a sample of a product, a discount on a tattoo, or a flyer for an event. There were street performers and vendors selling art and souvenirs from their stands lined along the permitter of the street, carefully positioned between entrances to stores to not obstruct the flow of traffic. The center of Calle del Conde had an arrangement of benches for shoppers to rest during their activities.

What I found most surprising, was the different presentation of dominicanidad exhibited in Calle del Conde. Throughout my trip, my gaze had always been upward; looking up at tall buildings and statues as my object of analysis. While walking through Calle del Conde, however, I began to physically direct my gaze at what was presented at eye level. I observed a contrasting story of heritage than what I had been previously noticing. Vendors sold relics of African ancestry; kiosks were filled with African percussion instruments and paintings depicting black women (Figures 10, 11, 12). I had not experienced this direct link to African identity anywhere else in the city. I was surprised to see these representations of blackness in Zona Colonial, in the midst of the

seemingly exclusive Hispanicism sold by the Dominican Ministry of Tourism.

Figure 9: Calle del Conde

Figure 10: Art on Calle del Conde 1

Figure 11: Art on Calle del Conde 2

Figure 12: Art on Calle del Conde 3

Here, too, I experienced the shudderings and uneasiness of colonial body memory. The images of black women presented through Calle del Conde did not directly make me feel more welcome and comfortable, but left me feeling a little unsure. The women in the art for sale were either depicted in minimal clothing and accentuated curves, or shown as mothers in a traditional, honorable role of femininity. I was unclear whether the use of oppositional gendered and racialized stereotypes were used as earnest, subversive representations of national identity, or a capitalization on selling exoticism to tourists (Collins 2000).

The more I walked through Calle del Conde during my research, the slower I moved and the more I observed. I walked around the statues in Figure 13 every day. Several of these fixtures are affixed in the center of the walkway on the edge of the crosscutting streets. They continue the theme of Black female motherhood, as this figure depicted with dark purple skin wears a dress, wraps her hair, and is carrying spheres painted similarly to watermelon, in a basket on her head. They are not easily recognizable, as they are positioned at the edge of the street. Calle del Conde is not open to car traffic, however there are several roads intersecting perpendicularly to the Calle that cars can pass through. Because pedestrians are focused on crossing safely, these statues that await on the other side become invisible. They have no placards or other descriptors, like the other art pieces and statues in Zona Colonial. They simply stand in silence, a passive acknowledgement of African women's cultural reproduction and labor in the Dominican Republic, without having to name it as such. Nonetheless, their invisibility mirrors the recognition of Black women's labor in the Dominican Republic.

Figure 13: Statue on Calle del Conde

Conclusion

During my travels in Zona Colonial, I experienced two different representations of Dominican heritage. The first was the hispanocentric colonial heritage formally presented through the Ministry of Tourism. This was evident through the gothic architecture, the commemoration of military forts, colonial churches, and colonial leaders. As noted in Zona Colonial's "Essential Guide" (Figure 2), these are set apart as the most influential historic sites in Dominican culture. The second representation of Dominican heritage was presented through the selling of African inspired art by vendors in Calle del Conde. To notice this representation of national identity, it required me to redirect my gaze to a more intimate scale; instead of paying attention to large buildings and statues, I observed the landscape at my fingertips.

Milagros Ricourt writes about the evolution of an official intellectual discourse that promotes the absence of blackness in the Dominican Republic. This is in line with her theorization of the colonial national imaginary and a subversive national imaginary. In her 2016 book, *The Dominican National Imaginary: Surveying The Landscape of Race and Nation in the Dominican Republic,* she writes

> I argue that there are different national imaginaries within the same national space-time framework— first, the colonized imaginary, representing the continuity of the colonial framework of power, and, second, a subversive imaginary, defined by those who see themselves as black and ready to fight against slavery— thus exposing shifting discontinuities in the colonial racial and cultural system (Ricourt 2016, 5).

The "official" intellectual discourse of Zona Colonial is a continuation of colonial power, as Ricourt says, creating a national imaginary of Spanishness and whiteness. The subversive imaginary, as she discusses, is possibly represented through the informal

economy, where vendors undeniably sell depictions of African ancestry. Ricourt's analysis helps us understand the differences between how Dominican people see themselves, how they are told to see themselves, and how we are told they see themselves. In the past decade, Dominican state and interpersonal violence against Haitians have received more widespread coverage in the news. Because of this, it has become widely understood that Dominican people do not identify with blackness. Many scholars, however, highlight the lack of division between Haitians and Dominicans, through moments of solidarity and overlapping identities in the borderlands (Paulino 2005, García-Peña 2016, Sharpe 2016).

Nonetheless, both representations of heritage are centered on capital. Zona Colonial is a UNESCO World Heritage site, and millions of dollars are invested into heritage tourism in the neighborhood. It would be insightful to observe how representations of heritage differ on the island, outside of landscapes of colonial hegemony. While it is possible the representations of African heritage are not the subversive ones Ricourt describes, but a capitalistic tactic to sell exoticism to tourists, it still represents the difference in national imaginaries present on the island.

Chapter 3: Imperial Entanglements and Dominican Defiance: Zona Colonial as a Site of Contestation

The cobblestone streets of Santo Domingo lead to Zona Colonial. Here, histories of imperialism and colonialism, genocide and slavery, converge and are embedded in the urban landscape. As the capital city of the Dominican Republic, Santo Domingo has been a crucial location of international and domestic influence, with the neighborhood of Zona Colonial being its locus. Along with Spanish conquest, United States' imperialism, and Dominican resistance are entangled in Zona Colonial. In this paper, I rethink Zona Colonial as a simply the material hub of Hispanic heritage and tourist activity to highlight how Dominicans have used the space to resist 20th century imperialism. I argue that in addition to it being a space of colonial memory and practice, Zona Colonial is a site of contestation where Dominicans have resisted imperialism, racism and patriarchy. I also discuss the role of the archive in fulfilling imperial and colonial gazes, and my work in relation.

In this chapter, I examine US imperialism in the Dominican Republic as perpetuating white supremacist and patriarchal expressions of power. According to bell hooks, racism and patriarchy are two violent systems central to imperialism (hooks 2015). Through examining the 1916 United States occupation of the Dominican Republic and its effect on the landscape of Zona Colonial, I emphasize how racism and sexism were present throughout US occupation and study how it is represented in photographs. I continue my analysis of the site through analyzing Dominican resistance to US intervention during the Dominican Civil War of 1965, half a century following the

original occupation. I center my study on Mujeres de la Revolución, a Dominican women's group organizing against US imperialism. My analysis will be based on a series of photos ranging from 1916 to 1965, found in the Archivo General de la Nación. I examine how racialized and gendered logics are present through US imperialism and in the spaces of organizing, and how both practices interact with the colonial, patriarchal landscape of Zona Colonial. I argue Zona Colonial is not just a tourist site, and show how it has been a site of protest.

Throughout this chapter, I critically engage with the construction of the archive. I examine where the photos were archived and the setting in which they are preserved. My critical analysis of the archive the photos are found in, and my analysis of the context of the photos work to analyze how US imperialism and resistance is framed, and how I, as an academic, reproduce the imperial gaze on the photographs. I engage with Dixa Ramirez' perspectives on photographs and archives to evaluate my relationship to the photos, and their presentation in the archive.

Imperial footprints: US occupation of 1916

In 1916, the United States invaded the island of Hispaniola, and in their eight year occupation of the western side, the empire cemented its power in Santo Domingo. The United States invaded to advance their economic interests which benefitted corporations and left Dominicans in poverty (García-Peña 2016). This economic dominance materialized in the presence of the American military in the Dominican Republic. Economic and military power impacted both the landscape of Zona Colonial and Dominican ideology on race and national identity. In this section, I examine

the ways the 1916 US occupation of Santo Domingo transformed the Dominican landscape and ideology, and ultimately, how this occupation contributed to Spanish colonial and US imperial memories present in Zona Colonial.

US Imperialism and the landscape of Santo Domingo

The United States occupation of the Dominican Republic deepened the colonial and imperial histories present in the built environment of Santo Domingo. Colonial edifices were intimately connected with contemporary imperial projects through the overlaying of material representations of power. Figure 14 is a 1916 photo of an American military base in the Dominican Republic. Marines are visible camped out underneath Fortaleza Ozama, as indicated in the title of the photograph. The Spanish fort built in 1502, which served as an entrance to Zona Colonial, is dressed with the Dominican flag and the US flag alongside it, while guards look down from the top. During the occupation, the United States flag was a symbol of US dominance on the island; American marines raised it with the Dominican flag, which both overlaid the ruins of Spanish colonial power structures. Visually, the entanglements of US imperialism and Spanish colonialism are present in the symbolic and material displays of power. The United States military used the ruins of Spanish conquest as a base to rewrite their domination.

In conjunction with temporary displays of power, such as the raising of the US flag, the US made permanent changes to the Santo Domingo landscape. These alterations carved the dominance of the US Empire into popular Dominican memory. US legacies are present through the naming of streets and buildings, which hold these names today.

Figure 14: Misa en la Fortaleza Ozama (Garcia 1916)

For example, the picturesque seaside boardwalk of the malecón, is located on George Washington Avenue, as visible in Figure 15. Other American leaders honored with street names in Santo Domingo are John F. Kennedy and Abraham Lincoln, along with American allies Winston Churchill and Charles de Gaulle. The caption of the photo, from an unknown author, reads "'US Corp' Avenue. (US Marine Corps), baptized as such to honor the marines who came to tarnish the name of the Founding Fathers of the Nation. This is part of George Washington Avenue." The renaming of place is an imperial tactic

Figure 15: Avenida "U.S. Corp" (Cassá Bernaldo de Quirós 1916)

to permeate the memory of empire long after imperial powers have withdrawn their

physical occupation. Working alongside establishing permanence through the built environment, the US empire spread racist ideologies that have not subsided.

Figure 16: Hermosa Vista de la Avenida "George Washington" (AGN n.d.)

US Imperialism and Anti-Blackness in Hispaniola

United States occupation concretized racial categorization in the Dominican Republic through emphasizing an oppositional identity to Haiti for Dominicans (Ramírez 2016). Feminist imperial studies assert the US imperial state works through creating gendered and racial hierarchies, generating national xenophobia by the declaration of enemies (Mohanty 2006). Racism is a political tool of colonialism and imperialism, which surfaces in the colonial, memorialized tourist landscape (hooks 2015). Zona Colonial in Santo Domingo hosts monuments to colonial leaders, such as the Columbus

family, and in addition, sites such as Parque Independencia and Parque Duarte are dedicated to Dominican leaders who built the nation on anti-Haitian ideologies (Eller 2016, García-Peña 2013). The US spread anti-Haitian narratives, depicting Haitians are savages and rapists. This was a tool to maintain imperial power, urging Dominicans the US occupation of their land was for their own safety (García-Peña 2016). Through US occupation, Santo Domingo became a space not only of colonial preservation, but the point of the dissemination of anti-Haitian and anti-black racism. Racist and xenophobic ideologies were produced through diplomatic exchanges between the United States government and the Dominican government, based in Santo Domingo (Ricourt 2016).

By creating divisions based on race between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, the United States fed a myth that Dominicans are not black, and that blackness is synonymous with Haitianness on the island. In Figure 17, dark skinned children and adults in the Dominican Republic stand underneath a Spanish colonial building. This stands underneath the US flag. Milagros Ricourt, professor of Latin American Studies at Lehman College, tells us that the US racialized Dominicans as being lighter than Haitians, which became an important factor in US-Dominican relations (Ricourt 2016) This creolization of Dominican racial identity, as Ricourt notes, was sustained after the US military withdrew. It formed the basis of the ideology of the brutal dictator, Rafael Trujillo, who ordered the genocide of thousands of Haitians in 1937 during the Parsley massacre. As visible in Figure 17, Dominican and Blackness are not mutually exclusive despite US rhetoric.

Figure 17: Fotografías relacionadas con la intervención norteramericana de 1916 (Cassá Bernaldo de Quirós 1916)

The United States occupation in the Dominican Republic has had lasting violent impacts on the land and ideology. Vasudevan and Smith assert the important of material and nonmaterial iterations of imperial power, arguing "the architectures of domestic and global imperialism are linked not only through racist discourses, but through material infrastructures" (Vasudevan and Smith 2020). Racism and hypermasculinity were disseminated through anti-Haitian ideology, and the imposition of United States iconography. The militarized landscape created not only a white supremacist vision of the nation, but also a patriarchal one. Imperialism and militarization are gendered colonial

practices that occurred in the Dominican Republic in 1916 (Mohanty 2006).

Dominican Defiance: Protest against US imperialism

During US occupation, Dominicans did not passively accept the attempts at neocolonialism. Several primary sources from el Archivo General de la Nación document demonstrations of Dominican resistance. These include protest demonstrations, publicly delivered speeches, and written letters to government officials. The representations of anti-imperial Dominican resistance varies in the archive. They show different scales of resistance and intimacies of it. In this section I introduce two documented moments of Dominican resistance to US imperialism. The first instance is during US occupation in the early 20th century. The second instance, which I spend more time on, occurs half a century later in 1965. While both instances use Zona Colonial as a place of contestation, they represent resistance differently and are represented differently in the archive.

In December of 1921 during the US Marine occupation of Santo Domingo, Dominican residents took to Zona Colonial to demonstrate their frustrations. Protestors wanted to dispel the myth that Dominicans supported US intervention on the western side of Hispaniola. A group of protestors began their demonstration on el Malecón, which is now George Washington Avenue, that edges Zona Colonial. The large group gathered in Parque Colón, in front of the hotel of the same name where American senators found their lodging. The protestors asserted to the Americans they demanded their liberty, sovereignty, and their independence (Hoepelmen and Senior 1973 [1922]).

Primary documents from US occupation during this time were compiled by Antonio Hoepelmen and Juan A. Senior in the *Collection of Dominican Thought:*

Documents Referring to the United States' Armed Intervention and Implantation of a Military Government in the Dominican Republic. The first edition, published in 1922 before the end of the occupation, features documents describing the events, primarily biographies of key actors and correspondents. While reading this book however, the key actors are exclusively male and white. Moreover, in the 500 page volume, there is one recorded instance of Dominican protest. The majority of the compilation focuses on formal political action, describing interactions between US and Dominican senators and including their written correspondence. The documents referring to US Military occupation center the biographical information of men who formally worked within the empire.

The book credits Don Julio F. Peynado as the leader of the 1921 protest in Parque Colón. During the demonstration, Peynado delivered a speech in English at the protest "with eloquent and sincere words," as the book describes him as capturing the sentiment of the Dominican people. His singular perspective, however, could not be representative of the Dominican people. At the time of the protest, he was a young 21 years old. Born to white Dominican elites, he received his education in Washington, D.C. and New York City, and did not live on the island during his formative years. Because of his race, gender, and age, Peynado was an atypical representation of dominicanidad. His highlight in the archive, however, presents a version of protest that is polished, educated, white, and masculine.

The archive masculinizes resistance in a way that it is bound with whiteness and wealth. The photos of those relevant to US imperialism are white, upper class

professionals. In the rest of my paper I explore the more diverse realities of protest present in the archive, that take place in the same location, fighting the same imperial power. I look at how differently they address protest in gendered, classed, and racialized ways.

Mujeres de la Revolución and the Spatialities of Resistance

While Zona Colonial, the site of the material ruins of colonial power, was a space for the concretization of United States imperialism, it also became a site of Dominican struggle. Half a century after its initial occupation, the United States attempted to reoccupy the island during the Dominican Civil War. The pursued reinsertion of imperialism was met with resistance from Dominican residents. Once again, Zona Colonial became a place where Dominicans asserted their freedom through movements and demonstrations. These protests, however, revealed paradoxes and tensions present in the colonial landscape. How can freedom be sought in a site memorializing violent oppression? Demonstrators marched on streets named after United States military leaders, and the streets were lined monuments Spanish colonialists. Examining women's organizing helps us to understand Zona Colonial as a palimpsest of colonial subjugation as well as liberation. Because of this, I argue Zona Colonial is a site of contestation amidst its imperial entanglements.

In 1965 the anti-imperialist group, Mujeres de la Revolución, marched on Calle del Conde in Zona Colonial, a street named in honor of Christopher Columbus. This women's group organized against the re-invasion of the US military. Among the vestiges of Gothic architecture, the protestors held banners calling for the removal of North

American troops from the island, as seen in Figures 18 and 19. The signs shout "¡Fuera los invasores!" which translates to "Get out Invaders!" The women protestors were well dressed in feminine dresses and high heels, which presents a sharp contrast to the hyper masculine landscape. Using Zona Colonial, the site of institutionalized colonial and imperial memory to resist further imperial domination emphasizes the entanglement of oppression and freedom in the landscape.

Figure 18: Fotografías de Mujeres de la Revolución en las calles 1(Pérez 1965)

As previously mentioned, the presentation of femininity through the protesters' dress is jarring in the landscape of colonial and imperial patriarchy. Figure 20 displays women organizing in the domestic space of home, which feminist geographers argue is

often overlooked as trivial. Moreover, a feminist geographic perspective emphasizes that these seemingly mundane, private, and personal places are also political (Faria 2017). As women organize over a sewing machine in this photo, it is explicit how the public and private are inseparable. One of the women in the photograph has rollers in her hair, and another women has a towel around her probably wet hair. According to the photo description in the Archivo General de la Nación, the women depicted here are sewing protest banners to wave during their protest. Additionally, this private space is used to

empower women to proclaim their power on a masculinized, public arena.

Figure 19: Fotografías de Mujeres de la Revolución en las calles (Pérez 1965)

The series of photos of Mujeres de la Revolución in the Archivo General de la Nación allows us to see gendered spatialites of resistance and understand the dynamics of private and public, and feminine and masculine sites. While the first moment of resistance I analyzed was a digitized book in the archive, it had more complete information on the documents themselves: how they were compiled and who compiled them. This photo series has less background information, and other than presenting the name of the women's group, there is little information to who they are other than their name. The most recognizable difference, however, is the darker skin of the women, the different spaces of protest, and their explicitly feminine dress. This contrasts to the public, and polished images of the protesting men in Collection of Dominican Thought.

Conclusion

To see Zona Colonial as singularly a tourist attraction is to overlook its history as a site of contestation. In this location, domineering pasts and defiant presents are overlaid and exist simultaneously. The preexisting preservation of colonialism in the built environment became more complex in the 20th century. The United States' empire writing itself into Dominican memory through changing the urban landscape creates a palimpsest of white supremacist power (Smith 2016). The etching over and rewriting of Western colonialism and imperialism met Dominican resistance movements aimed at asserting self-determination. Through rethinking Zona Colonial to be an entanglement of experience, we acknowledge and address the paradoxical realities of the Caribbean postcolony.

Figure 20: Fotografías de Mujeres de la Revolución en las calles 3 (Pérez 1965)

In this chapter, I analyzed US imperialism in Zona Colonial and how it shaped the landscape and ideology of Santo Domingo. Then, I study resistance to imperial occupation in the same landscape, juxtaposing how land that represents colonial and imperial power has been appropriated to resist it. I expand on my description of Zona Colonial in previous chapters as a tourist destination, to demonstrate it as a site of contestation. The deeper historical look provided through archival documents allows us to have a different perspective on what resistance is.

The archives that contain these images speak to what is prioritized in Dominican

history. The Collection of Dominican Thought is a several hundred page collection which is shows resistance as a polished political activity for white men. The lives of the men are detailed with biographical information and images. In contrast, Mujeres de la Revolución, does not have any descriptive information in the archive other than the photographs. When doing my research, I continued to search for information on the women's group without any success. Lack of complete information in the archive opens room for imagination, and possibly the creation stories that seem comforting to us (Hartman 2008). When writing this chapter, I had to continually address why I was reading the archive the way I was: why I read these women as black, why I found their protest more inspiring than others. As discussed in chapter 1, Dixa Ramírez's highlights the role of the imperial gaze in capturing and analyzing photographs. As a student from the United States, I am not exempt from putting my desires on the subjects I study.

While examining archives to understand historical phenomena gives us rich data to learn from, we must also interrogate the archives as sources of information. It is our responsibility to ask, what stories are represented and omitted in the archive? While much descriptive information is missing, the Archivo General de la Nación has a developed photo series on Mujeres de la Revolución, which leads me to wonder why they are so well documented in the archive and what other possible social groups are not represented. It is possible that Mujeres de la Revolución represent a certain, seemingly respectable class of women due to their style of dress. The landscape of Zona Colonial has been and continues to be a palimpsestic and public archive of different histories of power.

Chapter 4: Revisiting The Colonial Caribbean and Redressing Narratives of Heritage

Zona Colonial presents a white, patriarchal version of heritage that is rooted in Spanish identity and anti-Haitian visions of independence. This authorized heritage discourse is sustained through the Ministry of Tourism in the Dominican Republic, through memorialized sites and the narratives tour guides share about them (Smith 2006). These European visions of dominicanidad, which remove the memory of African ancestry in DR, have been cemented by US imperialism. United States' military occupation ideologically and materially shaped Zona Colonial and deepened discourse on racial division. Spanish colonial power in the 15th and 16th centuries formed the architectural foundations of the city, and combined with US imperialism, a visual mix of power narratives exist in Zona Colonial, which center the West. Western nations, however, are not the only influential actors in the city of Santo Domingo. Using Zona Colonial as a site to resist US imperialism in the 20th century is a powerful appropriation of the oppressive landscape for Dominicans.

This project was created from a month of fieldwork and archival research in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic. In the nine months following my fieldwork, I analyzed my data, including field notes, photos I took, and archival documents and began to draft what became this thesis. Choosing to begin this project with archival research allowed me to deepen my understanding of the history of my field site, and gave me the opportunity to become more comfortable living in the Dominican Republic. As I continue my project in the future, I will deepen my ethnographic research.

I will be able to expand my work by conducting interviews with archivists in el Archivo General de la Nación to understand the role of power in archiving. Additionally, conducting interviews with street vendors in Calle del Conde, will provide deeper insights into why they were selling art depicting African ancestry, leaving less room for speculation about their motives. While I was not able to address these in my current project, these limitations are opportunities to expand my research for the future.

My work joins larger conversations on the colonial Caribbean, geographies of memory, and Dominican national identity. My critical interrogation of the landscape to discuss whiteness contributes to literature on Dominicanidad. I highlight new points of analysis in the creation of Dominicanidad, centering tourist landscapes as critical to the dissemination of eurocentric and patriarchal national ideology. My work also extends the timeline of anti-Haitianism in the Dominican Republic. Anti-Haitianism is commonly associated with Dictator Rafael Trujillo, and his racism is seen as the root of the ideology. Through my interrogation of Dominican independence as represented through Parque Independencia, I assert anti-Haitianism was foundational to the creation of the new republic under Duarte, joining other scholars who critically discuss Dominican national identity (Ramírez 2016; García-Peña 2016).

This thesis contributes to the growing subfield of geographies of memory through connecting memorialized landscapes to global structures of power. I understand the built environment as symbolic of national memory, laden with colonial and imperial power. Through my work, I centralize racial and gendered power in the construction of memory, a critical contribution to geographies of memory. My international focus contributes to

the field by showing how anti-Black landscapes are a global phenomenon, while much of the rich scholarship centers on legacies of slavery in the US South. Additionally, my work makes a distinction between often conflated processes of colonialism and imperialism. While they overlap, I highlight how Spanish Colonialism and United States' imperialism are not congruent processes by analyzing their separate contributions to the landscape of Zona Colonial. I contributed to studies on colonialism and imperialism in the Spanish Caribbean.

Methodologically, my use of personal photographs contributes to the archive of photographs on Zona Colonial. Furthermore, I engage with Zona Colonial as a public archive, critically examining the narratives it is used to tell. I show that landscape, especially tourist landscapes, are archives of national identity. Through my use of auto ethnography I speak to the unique experience of being a black woman from the United States in Zona Colonial. As a methodological choice, I included my personal experiences in Zona Colonial in this thesis. Because of my race and gender, I experienced a feeling of temporal transformation characterized by a colonial body memory, which I will continue to examine after this project.

Through this thesis, I analyzed the omitting of African ancestry from the authorized heritage narrative presented in Zona Colonial by the Dominican Ministry of Tourism. As I continue to expand this project, I hope to recover and center African ancestry in the Dominican Republic in my work. Additionally, I intend to deepen my study on the erasures of blackness; in this work I examined which ideologies were foundational to the city, and I am curious to learn about the material foundations of the

city. Whose labor was used to build Zona Colonial? Who exists on the periphery of the city? My understandings of racial guide my pursuit of these questions, which I developed in this thesis.

Bibliography

Ali, R (2015). Rethinking representation: negotiating positionality, power and space in the field. *Gender, Place & Culture 22*(6). 783-800.

Abréu, D. (2014). *Sin Haitianidad no hay dominicanidad.* Editora Nacional.

Al-Natour, R (2017).“The racialisation of local heritage.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 23(5), 470-482.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso.

Arendt, H. (1958) *The Origins of Totalitarianism.* The Chicago University Press.

Arias, A. (2009). Parquecito. *Confluencia 24*(2). 177-184.

Ashley, S. and Sybille Frank. (2016). “Introduction: Heritage-Outside-In.” I*nternational Journal of Heritage Studies. 22*(7), 501-503.

Browne, S, (2015). *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness.* Duke University Press.

Candelario, G.E.B. (2016). La ciguapa y el ciguapeo: Dominican Myth, Metaphor, and Method. *Small Axe. 20*(3)*,* 100-112.

Cassá Bernaldo de Quirós, R. (1916). Photographs. Archivo General de la Nación in Santo Domingo. *Fotografías relacionadas con la intervención norteramericana de 1916.*

Clancy, M. (2011). “Re-presenting Ireland: Tourism, branding and national identity in Ireland.” *Journal of International Relations and Development, 14*(3). 281-308.

Collins, J. (2013). “Ruins, Redemption, and Brazil’s Imperial Exception.” in *Imperial*

Debris: On Ruins and Ruination, edited by Ann Laura Stoler, 162-193. Duke University Press.

Collins, P. (2000). *Black feminist thought: knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Routledge.

de las Casas, B. (1971 [1522]). *History of the Indies*. New York: Harper & Row.

De Maeseneer, R. (2011). "Parquecito", de Aurora Arias: una cronotopía subversiva. *Revista Hispánica Moderna 64*(2), 115-128.

Delugan, R. M. (2018). Reimagining the Strange and Familiar in National Belonging Memory, Heritage, and Exclusion in the Dominican Republic. *Journal of Anthropological Research, 74*(4). pp. 450-467

Dussel, E (1993). Eurocentricism and Modernity (Introduction to Frankfurt Lectures). *boundary 2, 20*(3). 65-76

Dubois, L. (2011). The Haitian Revolution. In S. Palmié and F. A. Scarano (Eds.),*The Caribbean: A History of the Region and its Peoples.* (pp. 273-287). The University of Chicago Press.

Eller, A. (2016). *We Dream Together: Dominican Independence, Haiti, and the Fight for Caribbean Freedom.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Faria, C. (2017). Unsettling the sediments of violence. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space. 35*(4). 584–588.

-—-(2017): Towards a countertopography of intimate war: contouring violence and resistance in a South Sudanese diaspora, *Gender, Place & Culture 24*(4) 1-19.

Fanon, F. ([1963] 2004). *The Wretched of the Earth.* Translated by Richard Philcox. New

York :Grove Press.

Garcia, J. G. (1916) Misa en la Fortaleza Ozama. Photograph. Archivo General de la Nación in Santo Domingo.http://colecciones.agn.gob.do/opac/ficha.php?informatico=00090301PI&codopac=OPPUB&idpag=1942930442

García-Peña, L. (2013). Being Black Ain't so Bad…Dominican Immigrant Women Negotiating Race in Contemporary Italy. *Caribbean Studies*, 41(2) 137-161.

———(2016). *The Borders of Dominicanidad: Race, Nation, and the Archives of Contradiction*. Durham: Duke U Press.

Gilmore, R. (2002). Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism and Geography, *The Professional Geographer, (54)*1, 15-24.

Hartman, S. (1997). *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self Making in Nineteenth Century America*. New York, Oxford. Oxford University Press.

——(2008). Venus in Two Acts. *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism*, *12*(2), 1–14.

Hermosa Vista de la Avenida "George Washington," con el abelisco al fondo. (n.d.) Archivo General de la Nación in Santo Domingo.

Hesse, B. (2007). Racialized Modernity: An Analytics of White Mythologies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies 30*(4) 643-63.

Hoelscher, S. (2003)."Making Place, Making Race: Performances of Whiteness in the Jim Crow South." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 93(3) 657-686.

Hoelscher, S and Derek H. Alderman. (2004). Memory and place: geographies of a

critical relationship. Social & Cultural Geography, 5(3). pp. 347-355

hooks, b. (2005). Ain't I a woman? Black Women and Feminism. New York: Routledge.

Hoepelman, A. and Juan A. Senior. ([1922] 1973). *Documents Históricos que se refieren a la Intervención Armada de los Estados Unidos de Norte-América y la implantación de un gobierno Militar americano en la República Dominicana.* Santo Domingo, Editora Educativa Dominicana.

Inter-American Development Bank. (2011). Dominican Republic to develop its Colonial City as a tourist destination with IDB help. https://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2011-10-07/tourism-in-the-colonial-city-of-santo-domingo%2C9581.html

Katz, C. (1994). Playing the field: questions of fieldwork in geography. *Professional Geographer 46*(1), 67-72.

Kohl, E. and Priscilla McCutcheon. (2015). Kitchen Table Reflexivity: Negotiating Positionality through Everyday Talk. *Gender, Place & Culture* 22(6):.747-763.

Kobayashi, A. (2014) The Dialectic of Race and the Discipline of Geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, (104)*6. 1101-1115.

Kuhn, A. (2010). Memory texts and memory work: Performances of memory in and with visual media. *Memory Studies 3*(4). 298-313.

Lister, E.L. (2014).“Dimensiones del antihaitianismo dominicano: colonialismo, colonialidad y explotación.” In Hernández, I. (ed*) República Dominicana y Haití: El Derecho a Vivir.* (pp. 237-266). Fundación Juan Bosch.

Lovell, G. W. (1992). "Heavy Shadows and Black Night": Disease and Depopulation in Colonial Spanish America. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,*

82(3). 426-443.

Mbembe, A.(2001). *On the postcolony.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

McDowell, L. (1998). *Gender, Identity and Place*. Cambridge: Polity.

Mohanty, C. (2006). US Empire and the Project of Women's Studies: Stories of citizenship, complicity and dissent. *Gender, Place, and Culture, 13*(1). 7-20.

Novoa, M. (2015). Insurgency, heritage and the working class: the case of the Theatre of Union Nº6 of the Coal Miners of Lota, Chile. *International Journal of Heritage Studies (24)*4. 354-373.

Núñez Collado, J. R. (2019). Santo Domingo: City Profile of the Caribbean's Metropolis. Cities 94 235-246.

Paulino, E. and García, S. (2013). Bearing Witness to Genocide: The 1937 Haitian Massacre and Border of Lights. *Afro-Hispanic Review 32*(2) 111-118.

Paulino, E. (2005). Erasing the Kreyol from the Margins of the Dominican Republic: The Pre- and Post-Nationalization Project of the Border, 1930-1945. *Wadabagei : A Journal of the Caribbean and Its Diaspora* 8(2). 35–71.

——— (2006) "Anti-Haitianism, Historical Memory, and the Potential for Genocidal Violence in the Dominican Republic." *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal 1*(3). 265-288.

Pérez, M. (1965). Fotografías de Mujeres de la Revolución en las calles. Archivo General de la Nación in Santo Domingo. http://colecciones.agn.gob.do/opac/ficha.php?informatico=00099566PI&idpag=1188483755&codopac=OPPUB&presenta=digitaly2p

Perry, K. Y. (2013). *Black women against the land grab: The fight for racial justice in Brazil.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ramírez, D. (2016). Dominican Race and Gender Before Trujillo. *Small Axe 20*(3). 189-198.

—(2018) Against Type: Reading Desire in the Visual Archives of Dominican Subjects. *Small Axe 22*(2). 144-160.

Ricourt, M. (2016). *The Dominican Racial Imaginary: Surveying the Landscape of Race and Nation in Hispaniola.* Rutgers University Press.

Rubio-Zepeda, J. (2015). Transitory Ghosts: Haitians and Domingo Haitians in Santo Domingo. *Portal*, Issue 11, 2015.

Santos Ramírez, J. R. (2014). Identidad y Desconstrucción Simbólica de La Nacionalidad Dominicana: Balaguer, la prensa, y la cuestión haitiana. Santiago de los Caballeros, República Dominicana.

Saunders, P. (2008). "Defending the Dead, Confronting the Archive: A Conversation with M. NourbeSe Philip." *Small Axe,* 12(2). 63-79.

Sharpe, C. (2016). *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Sheller, M. (2012). *Citizenship from Below: Erotic Agency and Caribbean Freedom.* Durham, Duke University Press.

Sletto, B. and Anja Nygren. (2015). Unsettling Neoliberal Rationalities: Engaged Ethnography and the Meanings of Responsibility in the Dominican Republic and

Mexico. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. 39* (5). 965-983.

Smith, C. (2016). *Afro-Paradise: Blackness, Violence, and Performance in Brazil.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.

Spillers, H. (1987). Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book, *Diacritics, 17*(2), 64–81.

Sued-Badillo, J. From Tainos to Africans in the Caribbean: Labor, Migration, and Resistance. In S. Palmié and F. A. Scarano (Eds.), *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and its Peoples.* (pp. 97-113). The University of Chicago Press.

Taylor, E. B. (2009) Modern dominicanidad: Nation-building and politics of exclusion in Santo Domingo since the 1880s. *Dialectical Anthropology, 33*(2). 209-217.

Thomas, D. A. (2013). Caribbean Studies, Archive Building, and the Problem of Violence. Small Axe, 17(2), pp. 27-42.

Torres-Saillant, S. (1998). The Tribulations of Blackness: Stages in Dominican Racial Identity. *Latin American Perspectives, 25*(3). 126-146.

——— (2010). Introduction to Dominican Blackness." *CUNY Dominican Studies Institute.*

Trouillot, M.-R. (1995) *Silencing the past: Power and the production of history.* Boston, Mass: Beacon Press.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. "Colonial City of Santo Domingo." https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/526/ accessed October 15, 2019.

Usanna, K. W. (2011). "The absence of an African Presence in Argentina and the Dominican Republic" Caught Between National Folklore and Myth. *Caribbean Studies*. *38*(1). 107-127

Vasudevan, P and William A. Kearney. (2016). Remembering Kearneytown: race, place and collective memory in collaborative filmmaking. *Area 48*(4). 455-462.

Vasudevan, P. and Sara Smith. (2020). The domestic geopolitics of racial capitalism. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*. *0*(0). 1-20.

Whelan, Y. (2002). "The construction and destruction of a colonial landscape: monuments to British monarchs in Dublin before and after independence." *Journal of Historical Geography*. 28(4) 508-533.

World Travel and Tourism Council (2017) Travel and Tourism Economic Impact 2018: Dominican Republic. London, UK: *World Travel and Tourism Council.*

Wynter, S. (2003). "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument." CR: The New Centennial Review, 3(3) 257-337.